

P 211253Z SEP 98  
FM AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9513  
INFO ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 AMMAN 008578

LONDON FOR SUTPHIN; PARIS FOR LEAF

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 9/8/08  
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SUBJECT: JORDANIAN ISLAMISTS' RELATIONSHIP WITH HAMAS

REF: A) AMMAN 8495; B) JERUSALEM 2594

CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J. BURNS FOR REASONS  
1.5 (B) AND (D)

11. (C) SUMMARY: THE JORDANIAN MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD (MB) HAS BEEN OUTSPOKEN IN ITS PUBLIC PROTESTS OVER THE KILLING OF HAMAS MILITARY LEADERS IMAD AND ADEL AWADULLAH AND HAS SUGGESTED PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY COMPLICITY IN THEIR DEATHS. THE MB OPENLY DECLARES ITS CLOSE TIES WITH HAMAS, BUT PRIVATELY, THE RELATIONSHIP APPEARS MORE COMPLICATED. END SUMMARY.

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LOCAL ISLAMIST RESPONSE TO AWADULLAH KILLINGS  
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12. (U) THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD (MB) AND THE MB-AFFILIATED POLITICAL PARTY, THE ISLAMIC ACTION FRONT (IAF), HAVE PUBLICLY PROTESTED IN A NUMBER OF WAYS THE KILLINGS BY ISRAELI SECURITY FORCES OF HAMAS LEADERS IMAD AND ADEL AWADALLAH.

- THE MB ORGANIZED A PUBLIC MEETING SEPTEMBER 13 TO DENOUNCE THE KILLINGS AND CALL FOR AN END TO PEACE AGREEMENTS WITH ISRAEL.

- THE MB AND IAF ISSUED A PUBLIC STATEMENT CALLING FOR THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY TO END SECURITY COOPERATION WITH ISRAEL.

- JORDANIAN ISLAMIST NEWSPAPER AL-SABEEL PRINTED A POSTER AND A FOUR-PAGE INSERT SEPTEMBER 15 DEDICATED TO THE AWADULLAH KILLINGS.

- THE MB TRIED TO STAGE TWO RALLIES IN AL BAQA'A AND AL WIHDAT REFUGEE CAMPS SEPTEMBER 18 BUT WAS REFUSED PERMISSION. THE JORDAN TIMES REPORTED THAT MB CONTROLLER GENERAL ABDUL MAJEED AL-THUNAYBAT AND PROMINENT MB MEMBER HAMZEH MANSOUR, SPEAKING AT FRIDAY PRAYERS IN THE CAMPS, CALLED FOR HAMAS TO AVENGE THE AWADULLAH MURDERS. THEY ALSO CALLED FOR JIHAD (HOLY WAR) AGAINST ISRAEL TO "LIBERATE" JERUSALEM AND THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES, WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE PA.

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SUMMARY OF ISLAMISTS' PRESS STATEMENTS  
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13. (U) IN THE IAF STATEMENT, REPORTED SEPTEMBER 14 IN THE JORDAN TIMES:

- THE IAF CALLED THE AWADULLAH KILLINGS "ONE MORE LINK IN A LONG CHAIN OF ISRAELI CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE."

- IT CALLED ON THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL AUTHORITY TO RELEASE ALL POLITICAL DETAINEES, INCLUDING HAMAS MEMBERS, TO ABROGATE THE OSLO ACCORDS AND TO ALLOW RESISTANCE GROUPS TO STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAELI OCCUPATION.

- IT CALLED ON EGYPT AND JORDAN TO END THEIR PEACE ACCORDS WITH ISRAEL.

¶4. (U) JORDANIAN ISLAMIST NEWSPAPER AL-SABEEL'S FOUR PAGE SPECIAL INSERT SEPTEMBER 15 ABOUT THE KILLINGS INCLUDED:

- AN INTERVIEW WITH AMER AWADULLAH, THE BROTHER OF THE TWO SLAIN HAMAS LEADERS, WHO IMPLIED PA COMPLICITY IN THE DEATHS.

- AN ARTICLE QUESTIONING THE DENIAL OF JIBRIL AL-RUJOUB, COMMANDER OF THE PALESTINIAN PREVENTATIVE SECURITY UNIT, OF ANY CONNECTION TO THE KILLINGS.

- AN ARTICLE CRITICIZING THE PA FOR BANNING ANY MENTION IN PALESTINIAN PAPERS OF HAMAS' CALL FOR A STRIKE IN MEMORY OF THE AWADULLAH BROTHERS.

¶5. (U) WEEKLY NEWSPAPER AL-HADATH ON SEPTEMBER 14 RAN AN AFP REPORT OF AN MB STATEMENT, IN WHICH THE MB HINTS MORE STRONGLY AT PA COMPLICITY:

- THE MB DOUBTED "THE ZIONIST VERSION OF THE MARTYRDOM" OF HAMAS MILITARY LEADERS IMAD AND ADEL AWADALLAH.

- IT QUESTIONED THE TIMING OF THE KILLINGS DURING SMEC DENNIS ROSS' VISIT.

- IT SUGGESTED THE PA "MIGHT HAVE OFFERED THE HEADS OF IMAD AND ADEL TO GAIN A FLEXIBILITY FROM NETANYAHU, SO THAT HE WOULD ACCEPT THE US PROPOSAL" FOR A 13 PERCENT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK.

¶6. (U) AN UNNAMED 'HIGH PNA OFFICIAL', QUOTED IN SENSATIONALIST WEEKLY PUBLICATION AL-SHIHAN SEPTEMBER 17, RETURNED THE ACCUSATIONS:

- THE SOURCE CALLED THE JORDANIAN MB "IMPERIALIST STOOGES" WHO ARE "WORKING AGAINST ARAB, NATIONALIST AND PALESTINIAN CAUSES".

- HE ACCUSED THE MB OF FOLLOWING INSTRUCTIONS FROM ITS INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP (WHICH HE SAID JUST MOVED FROM GERMANY TO THE U.S.) TO ADOPT ISRAELI SECURITY'S VERSION OF THE AWADULLAH KILLINGS WHICH IMPLICATES THE PA.

- HE ACCUSED THE MB OF SPREADING THESE LIES TO ISOLATE THE PA BY DRIVING A WEDGE BETWEEN IT AND THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE.

THE AL-SHIHAN ARTICLE ALSO QUOTED MB CONTROLLER GENERAL ABDUL MAJEED AL-THUNAYBAT, TRYING TO CALM THE SITUATION, SAYING HE DOES NOT WANT A WAR OF WORDS WITH THE PA.

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MB PICKS HAMAS OVER THE PA ANY DAY  
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¶7. (C) THE MB HAS A LONG-TIME, PUBLIC AFFILIATION WITH HAMAS, DESPITE ITS DECLARED POLICY AGAINST THE USE OF VIOLENCE (REF B). VIOLENT ACTS PERPETRATED BY HAMAS AGAINST ISRAELIS ARE, AS ISLAMIST MP ABDUL MAJEED AQTASH TOLD POLOFF SEPTEMBER 15, "A REVOLUTIONIST RESPONSE TO ISRAELI INJUSTICE, KILLING, OCCUPATION AND DESTRUCTION OF THE PALESTINIAN INFRASTRUCTURE." AQTASH CALLED HAMAS "THE MILITARY WING FOR ALL MUSLIMS, NOT JUST THE MB".

¶8. (U) IN AN INTERVIEW PUBLISHED IN FILASTIN AL-MUSLIMAH (THE DATE OF THE INTERVIEW WAS NOT GIVEN BUT APPEARS TO BE EARLY AUGUST), THE INTERVIEWER ASKED JORDANIAN MB LEADER THUNAYBAT TO DEFINE THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MB AND HAMAS. THUNAYBAT RESPONDED, "WE CONSIDER OURSELVES ONE PEOPLE AND THUS

ONE MOVEMENT...WE HAVE THE SAME CONCERNS AND THE SAME CAUSE...WE PRAY FOR THEM AND STRETCH OUR HANDS OUT TO THEM IN RESISTING AGAINST THE OCCUPATION AND IN WARDING OFF THE HARM FROM THE SONS OF OUR PEOPLE IN PALESTINE. AS FOR THE BROTHERS IN HAMAS, THEY ARE THE VANGUARD OF JIHAD IN OCCUPIED PALESTINE. JIHAD IS ONE OF THE DUTIES IMPOSED UPON US BY GOD ALMIGHTY, AND IT IS ONE OF THE PILLARS ON WHICH THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT WAS FOUNDED. WE BACK AND SUPPORT OUR BROTHERS IN THIS BLESSED MOVEMENT WITH ALL THE POWER WE HAVE AND WILL ALL THE MATERIAL, MORAL AND INFORMATION SUPPORT WE CAN GIVE THEM."

¶9. (C) THUNAYBAT GIVES A ROSIER VIEW OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MB AND HAMAS IN THIS PUBLIC STATEMENT THAN MB MEMBER AND INTELLECTUAL IBRAHIM GHARAIBEH (STRICTLY PROTECT) DESCRIBED TO POLOFF IN A CONVERSATION TWO MONTHS AGO. GHARAIBEH, EDITOR OF THE ISLAMIC MAGAZINE AL-UMMAH, TOLD POLOFF JULY 14 THAT THE MB HAD DECIDED TO CEASE ALL RELATIONS WITH HAMAS UNTIL HAMAS RESOLVES A POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE LEADERS INSIDE THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND OUTSIDE.

¶10. (C) GHARAIBEH SAID THE PALESTINIAN MB APPROACHED THE JORDANIAN MB IN THE 1980'S FOR ASSISTANCE TO FORM HAMAS. THEY HAD AN AGREEMENT THAT HAMAS WOULD ONLY FUNCTION WITHIN PALESTINE AND REMAIN COMPLETELY SEPARATE FROM THE JORDANIAN MB, ALTHOUGH THE JORDANIAN MB WOULD PROVIDE SUPPORT (WHAT KIND OF SUPPORT WAS NOT CLARIFIED). WHEN "GOVERNMENTS STARTED TO HARASS HAMAS", IT MOVED SOME OFFICES OUTSIDE OF THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES FOR SELF-PRESERVATION. ACCORDING TO GHARAIBEH, THESE OUTSIDE LEADERS, SUCH AS KHALID MISHA'AL IN JORDAN, BEGAN COMPETING WITH THE INTERNAL LEADERS, LIKE SHEIKH YASSIN, FOR CONTROL OVER THE ORGANIZATION. GHARAIBEH SAID SHEIKH YASSIN HAS ASKED THE MB TO IGNORE DIRECTIVES FROM THE EXTERNAL LEADERS.

¶11. (C) GHARAIBEH SAID THE JORDANIAN MB OPPOSES HAMAS RECEIVING DECISIONS FROM OUTSIDE THE TERRITORIES. IT WANTS IT TO BE A PURELY PALESTINIAN ORGANIZATION AND INDEPENDENT FROM ANY OUTSIDE SOURCE, INCLUDING THE JORDANIAN MB. HE SAID THE MB DOES NOT WANT HAMAS TO BECOME LIKE NAYEF HAWATMA'S DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE LIBERATION OF PALESTINE (DFLP) WHICH, ACCORDING TO GHARAIBEH, IS ACTIVE IN SYRIA, BUT HAS FEW FOLLOWERS IN THE PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES.

¶12. (C) COMMENT: THE JORDANIAN REGIME, COGNIZANT OF THE WIDESPREAD PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR THE POLICIES OF BOTH THE MB AND HAMAS, SEES NO ADVANTAGE IN OPENLY CRITICIZING THE MB OVER ITS DECLARATIONS OF SUPPORT FOR HAMAS. IN THE MIND OF MOST JORDANIANS, TO BE ANTI-HAMAS IS TO BE ANTI-PALESTINIAN - A MONIKER THE REGIME SEEKS TO AVOID. THE GOJ DOES, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO MONITOR CAREFULLY LOCAL HAMAS LEADERS - THEIR CONTACTS, STATEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES - AND DOES NOT SHY AWAY FROM THREATENING HAMAS MEMBERS WHEN THEY HAVE OVERSTEPPED GOJ-IMPOSED REDLINES. END COMMENT.

BURNS